757
278 For back aches Erythrophloeum guineense (elʉ̄n) and the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata (esʉ̄ mʉ̄ Fang) are used. The bark of the Erythrophloeum is heated and laid on a bed on which the patient lies down. The bark of the Gaertnera is cut up into small pieces and is put into a larger piece of bark of the same plant; the patient must lie down with his back on it. For organic /181/ heart disease (nnǎ́ nnēm "pains in the heart"), an extract of the [826] bark of Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edžʉ̄'le) is drunk; for mental [829] disorders, which are also supposed to come from the heart (okŏn nnēm), 10 different medicines have been mentioned to me. By acquiring the particular property of the plant, the heart is supposed to be put to sleep and made dark and small. I have further collected: 21 medicines for headache; four for lung disease (sŏ); nine for the cold; 56 for stomach and intestinal disorders; 54 for toothaches; 47 for rheumatic pains (nnǎ and nnǎ́-nkūk); 23 for stomach-aches when twitching pains occur (nnǎ́-abʉ̄m); and five for hemorrhoids, among them especially the Cucurbitacea Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch. (ejažʉ́m).

For eye inflammations, ground leaves of the Rubiacea Chasalia macrodiscus K. Sch. (dži̇̄ a ndži̇̄k III) or bark scraped off the Euphorbiacea Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efʉ̄ŏ'le, dži̇̄, III) are put in a leaf bag, a little water is added, and the extract flowing out at the bottom is dropped into the eye. The same process is carried out with ground leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa (nsi̇̄'s ā III) as a remedy for sties.

To get rid of eye worms (eyā), the sap of the following plants is used: Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f., Convolvulacea (atūk e ndžīk); Diodia breviseta Benth, Rubiacea (dēmezŏ III); Gabunia brachypoda Stpf., Apocynacea (etūe' ndži̇̄k); Phaseolus lunatus L. (okŏkʉ̄nŏ III).

The Negro's indifference toward sand lice, Sarcopsylla penetrans (asô), is well known; the Pangwe, too, neglect sand lice wounds and do not use medicine until half the toe is festered. Then ground leaves of Phytolacca abyssinica Hoffmann (atŏt e nkō), ground leaves of Ocimum gratissimum L. (asō'b) mixed with oil, or bark shavings of the Euphorbiacea Neoboutonia africana Muell. Arg. (okŏ'jō̂m) mixed with oil are placed on the wounds, and after a few days the

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jôé also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

761 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kôn (Fang, khun), is 754 not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of sorcery, at which the Ndôn are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekôn are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /opération/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kôn, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There 76 were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zâmbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to étôtôlan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

754 575 828

Sorcerers meet on certain days at a specified place. In most cases this meeting has been decided upon in advance at the previous gathering. But it may also happen that the high chief wants to convene his followers unexpectedly. How then is this done?

The manner is most mysterious.

A chief whom I once questioned on this subject told me that he heard the call during his sleep, that a "voice" informed him of the day, hour, and spot, and that this happened quite often. What is to be made of this reply? I must admit that I do not know. It can be stated definitely that certain sorcerers [453] are very clever at thought transmission even over long distances; such difficulties do not bother them.

One day I observed the following: I was chatting freely in a hut with a Fan who considered himself a friend of ours and who did, in fact, do us many services. I was sitting on his bamboo bed and he on a stool facing me. Suddenly I noticed a little bundle of sticks, some painted red, the others white, a few pointed, the rest not. What was most astonishing was that it seemed to me that the fairly large bundle had not been there a moment before. I hastily called it to our friend's attention because he could not have seen it, having his back turned. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"It's nothing, don't pay any attention," he said. He picked up the bundle and hid it carefully, adding, "Above all, don't mention it to anyone -- you would do me a great deal of harm!"

As his reply did not satisfy me, I wanted a further explanation.

"No, no!" he kept repeating, "It's a deep secret (endzâ̊ndzâ̊ éki, lit., the forbidden mystery)."

754 575 828 203

At last after much urging, he decided to admit, after making me promise never to say anything to anyone, that he was a sorcerer of the Ngil rite and that this was the way of convening the next meeting.

"According to the color painted on the sticks," he said, "I know where I'm to go; the number of sticks tells me how many days until my departure for the meeting; the white ones indicate

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga kɛ́ dzamadzam, kɛ́ kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
174] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bɛ́ndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524] (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and onzakôn (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these occasions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôn denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to reveal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôn and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The [43] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekèlokèn.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when on a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it: that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal.

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang e Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afua*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the